### PATTERNS OF DOUBLING IN ALEMANNIC

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#### 1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is twofold: on the one hand, I will present the various doubling phenomena that are attested in the Alemannic dialect<sup>1</sup>. With the exception of subject (pronoun) doubling (which is also absent in Swiss German, Elvira Glaser, (p.c.)), nearly all those constructions that were listed in the call for papers for this conference (or in the introduction) can be found in one or another way in Alemannic too. Some of these will be examined in more detail – others will be merely mentioned and illustrated with some examples.

The other point that I will address during the discussion of some phenomena is the theoretical question whether these doubling phenomena violate the principle of economy. Economy of derivation, in the sense that the grammar does not tolerate superfluous elements resp. superfluous steps in a derivation, is a central concept in modern generative grammar. Doubling phenomena are a challenge to this general design. So the question is whether these phenomena indeed force us to deviate from this concept or whether analyses can be provided such that these constructions are – despite the fact that they contain superficially unnecessary elements - nevertheless compatible with an economic approach to the computational system of the language faculty. In recent developments of Minimalism (Chomsky 2005), there is no a priori preference of external Merge over internal Merge. That means that the insertion of an additional element is (economically) equivalent to the movement of an element that would target the same position. This opens the way to true 'optionality' and we will see instances of this.

In giving brief (and sometimes rather sketchy) accounts of these constructions, I will tentatively conclude that under closer scrutiny - economy holds also in these cases.

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2, I will present two instances of 'morphological doubling'. These will be shown to be cases of concord within one (extended) projection and are thus an instance of general agreement phenomena and not 'superfluous doubling'. They do not present a problem for the economy approach. Section 3 treats  $\partial \sigma$ -insertion, preposition doubling, and doubly filled Comp in some detail. Here we will see that  $\partial \sigma$ -insertion is in fact equivalent with verb-movement under an economy perspective and therefore there is (in most cases) true optionality. In the other two cases, we will see that these should be treated under the heading 'explicitness' rather than 'doubling'.

In section 4 finally two examples are given that are in my view 'true cases of doubling' in the sense that they violate economy. One is the insertion of relative pronouns in addition to the relative particle wo. The other case is the doubling of the infinitival marker in certain types of infinitival complements. However, in both cases, it can be shown that the doubling results from the intermingling of two grammars/constructions. The overall conclusion is thus that the doubling phenomena which are attested in Alemannic do not violate economy. What appears to be doubling is rather 'explicitness' in the sense that (syntactic) information that could also be inferred from the immediate syntactic surrounding is overt – whereas it is often covert in standardized, written languages.

SYNTACTIC DOUBLING IN EUROPEAN DIALECTS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The variant of Alemannic that will be described in this paper is 'Bodensee-Alemannic' which is spoken around the Lake of Constance. In some cases I will also cite reference grammars which treat other variants of Alemannic. This is then indicated in the text.

As mentioned above, there are some doubling phenomena which occur in Alemannic, but will not be discussed in detail here. However, I will list them here and illustrate them with examples.

The first one is determiner doubling as exemplified in (1):

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(1) a. <u>en</u> so <u>en</u> guete Wii.

a such a good wine

b.*er isch wieder <u>de</u> ganz <u>de</u> Alt.

he is again the completely the old (one) (as he used to be)
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Note that there is no doubling of the definite determiner, (1b), as it is found in some varieties of Swiss German, see Glaser (this volume). I refer the reader to Glaser's article and the detailed analysis of this construction in Bavarian by Dalina Kallulli & Antonia Rothmayr. Another construction that I will not discuss here in detail is wh-word doubling as shown in (2):

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(2) a. Wa hesch (du) gseet wo-n-er ani isch?

what have you said where-he towards is

b. Wo hesch (du) gseet wo-n-er ani isch?

where have you said where-he towards is

'Where did you say that he is gone to?'
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(2a) exemplifies a so-called scope-marking construction where the wh-word that has moved to the matrix clause is invariably the counterpart of WHAT, see McDaniel (1989), Dayal (1994). (2b) shows the copying construction, i.e. the wh-word is spelled out at its landing site in the matrix clause and additionally in the intermediate SpecCP position of the embedded clause. Both constructions are possible in Alemannic. Since there are no relevant differences with the Standard German construction and since the construction has been the topic of much work in recent years, I will merely refer to some literature, e.g. Felser (2004) for some recent discussion, Brandner (2000) and the various contributions in Lutz & Müller & van Stechow (2000), among many others. Note also that this construction does not pose a problem w.r.t. economy, since it seems to be merely a matter of Spell-out of copies which are needed in the derivation in any case.

Finally, there are instances of negative concord found in Alemannic, however usually only with negative quantifiers and not with the negative particle itself:

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(3) a. es het nene nünt gea.

it has nowhere nothing given
b.?*es het nene nünt it gea.

it has nowhere nothing notgiven
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Since negative concord has been treated extensively in the literature, I will add nothing to this here.

#### 2 DOUBLING OF INFLECTIONAL MORPHEMES

# 2.1 -S DOUBLING

The first case to be discussed in more detail is what I will call (somehow neutrally) 'S-doubling'. An instance of it is shown in (4).

(4) Bi's Nochbars het's brennt. at-s neighbours has it burnt

The plural — of the noun occurs again at the preposition, i.e. we have an instance of doubling of an inflectional morpheme. This pattern is productive as it occurs with all kinds of prepositions, irrespective of their phonological shape:

(5) a. wege's Nochbars (because) b. mit's Nochbars (with) c. uff's Nochbars (on)

The examples are interpreted by native speakers as a plural. However, -s is not a productive plural marker in this dialect, as is shown by the examples in (6). These are all candidates for an s-plural in Standard German, but as can be seen, Alemannic uses a different strategy to mark the plural: either no marking at all or a -ne morpheme.

```
(6)
     ALM
                     drei Auto-Ø
                                           Firma
                                                        Firmene
     SG
        ein
             Auto
                     drei Auto-s
                                     eine Firma
                                                   die
                                                        Firmen/Firmas
                     three cars
                                          firm
                                                   the
             car
```

According to Schirmunski (1962), (5) is not a plural construction, instead it is a 'frozen' genitive<sup>2</sup> with the following underlying construction:

# (7) de<u>s</u> Nachbar<u>s</u> [PLACE], [HOUSEHOLD, FAMILY]

There is thus an elliptical noun referring to the place or the household (including automatically several persons, cf. the plural interpretation) of the genitive marked noun. Under this perspective, the  $\neg J$  is in fact genitive marking, occurring therefore also (in a regular way) at the determiner. Now the  $3^{rd}$  person neuter determiner<sup>3</sup> occurs in this dialect in a reduced form, with the initial  $\neg J$ - deleted such that we get (e)-J. If the DP is part of a PP, the preposition amalgamates with the (reduced) determiner and the result is a form like bi'J (pronounced as one word), cf. (4). In sum, the double occurrence of  $\neg J$  is regular genitive marking, being expressed on the noun as well as on the determiner.

However, native speakers interpret the  $\neg J$  occurring at the noun nevertheless as a plural. This can be witnessed from the example in (8) where the  $\neg J$ -plural is used with a nominative DP<sup>4</sup>, acting as the subject and therefore triggering subject-verb agreement. As can be seen, only the plural version is accepted:

(8) ('s) Nochbars kumm-et/\* kumm-t ooh.

If the DP would indeed be analyzed by the native speakers as an elliptical construction – as described above – then the finite verb should show singular agreement – contrary to fact<sup>5</sup>.

If it is true that native speakers interpret the construction as a simple plural then this is indeed a case of inflection doubling. Considering first the examples with prepositions, the  $-\delta$  at the preposition has no source: the determiner in the dative plural ends with -n, cf. bei  $\partial e$ -n Auto- $\delta$  (at the cars) in Standard German and as  $\partial e$  (with merely a schwa) in Alemannic. But this is not what we find. The same holds for (8) without a preposition. It should be  $\partial$ 'Nochbar $\delta$  if it were a regular nominative plural. So the  $-\delta$  attached to the preposition seems to be functionless and superfluous.

The phenomenon thus requires more on (synchronic) explanation than merely stating that it is a relict of older stages where the genitive was still productive – this is obviously not anymore transparent to the native speaker.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This fits very well with the fact that the construction is not productive in the sense that it occurs only with proper names or unique expressions like 'neighbour', 'mayor' etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> which is homophonous with the genitive marked definite determiner. Both surface as -3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See below for the optionality of the initial -3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> There is of course also the possibility that the elided noun is plural, e.g. the neighbour's <u>relatives</u> or <u>members</u> of the family. However, this seems rather implausible, given that native speakers are not aware of the origin of the construction.

The question then is how the  $\neg a$  at the noun has been reanalyzed as a plural and second how the  $\neg a$  attached to the preposition was kept and even occurs obligatorily – at least if the DP is part of a PP, cf. (9), compare with (8) where the  $\neg a$  is optional:

(9) bi\*(s) Nochbars het's brennt. at neighbours has it burned

Assuming as a first step that plural  $\rightarrow$  -although not a proper part of the grammar of this language— has been incorporated into the set of plural exponents. This is quite plausible since it occurs in the standard grammar regularly. The more interesting question then is why the doubled  $\rightarrow$  occurs.

The phenomenon reminds of complementizer agreement in Bavarian, West Flemish, also Frisian, see Bayer (1984) for Bavarian<sup>6</sup> and Haegeman (1990, 1992) for West Flemish:

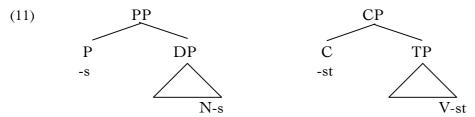
(10) a. wenn-st moanst ...

if-2sg think-2sg

b. ... dat-st do soks net leauwe moa-st

... that-2sg you such not believe must-2sg (cited after Zwart 2006:67)

In both cases, there is a doubled inflectional element which appears at the highest extended projection, i.e. at the left edge of the phrase, which is headed by an element that normally does not show inflection in these languages, i.e. prepositions and complementizers:



This pattern could find a quite natural explanation if it were the case that configurations like those in (11) at least provide a basis for the doubled occurrence of inflectional elements. The idea is that – intuitively - the domain in which a given feature is valid, is marked overtly. So the feature occurs at the beginning, i.e. the head of the highest functional projection, and at the end, i.e. the most deeply embedded lexical head. The inflectional marking of the lexical head is spreading so to speak. The important point is that the features are not in a checking relation, rather they 'mark the edges' of the construction. This implies that the doubling in these cases is of a 'surfacish' nature.

In a recent paper, Zwart (2006) suggests to abandon the analysis of complementizer agreement in terms of feature checking but instead to treat it as a 'surface' phenomenon, i.e. a purely morphological issue that came into existence via an analogical process. Referring to work by Kathol (2001) and Goeman (2000), he suggests that the complementizer simply copies the inflection that shows up on finite verbs (in inverted position with a verb-clitic sequence) such that we get an analogical extension of the following kind:

# (12) kunt : kunn-e :: dat : datt-e

*Kunt* is the inflection type in the base position of the verb and *kunne* the one in the derived (i.e. inverted) position. Since the complementizer occurs exactly in this position (if the verb does not move), the variation in the form of the verb is mimicked by the complementizer and thus we get the four part analogy pattern, as shown in (12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I will leave out Bavarian in the following. The reason is that it has complementizer agreement in the strict sense only in 2<sup>nd</sup> Person singular. Other cases where inflection-like material is attached to the complementizer is probably more adequately analyzed as subject pronoun doubling. So I will rely on Frisian where it is clear that it is the verbal person/number inflection which occurs at the complementizer.

I would like to claim that -\(\sigma\)-doubling should be treated as the same type of phenomenon. The idea is that -\(\sigma\) occurs at the preposition in order to fulfill the function of a determiner. Determiners in German (and also in Alemannic) show plural marking (concord). However, -\(\sigma\) is not really productive in Alemannic, therefore there is no proper counterpart for the determiner inflection in this case. The morphological realization of the plural on the noun therefore shows up again on the highest functional projection, i.e. the preposition. It is thus not a classical four part analogy as in (12) but rather a 'spreading' of an exponent to the nominal categories within one extended projection.

Although there are of course differences between the constructions, the amount of shared properties calls for the just proposed treatment, namely as a surface morphological phenomenon.

First, as shown in (8), the initial -3 can be omitted if there is no preposition present. This is never the case with the -3 attached to the noun. This kind of optionality can also be found with complementizer agreement: it is possible to omit the inflection on the complementizer but – of course – never that of the verb. So we can conclude that the lexical categories (i.e. verb and noun) bear the (derivationally) relevant instance of the inflection and that therefore the doubled morpheme is 'invisible' to the derivation.

Another parallel between complementizer agreement and  $\delta$ -doubling is that there is an adjacency effect in both cases: complementizer agreement is only possible if the (clitic) subject pronoun follows the complementizer immediately <sup>7</sup>. This is observed by Ackema & Neeleman (2004) for Hellendoorn Dutch, as discussed in Zwart (2006:67).

- (13) a. Volgens miej lop-<u>e</u> wiej noar 't park. according to me walk-PL.INV we to the part
  - b. ... dar-<u>re</u> weij noar 't park loop-t.
    - ... that-PLINV we to the park walk
- (14) a. Volgens miej lop-t op den wärmsten dag van 't joar ook wiej noar according to me walk-PL on the hottest day of the year also we to 't park. the part
  - b. ...dat-\overline{\Omega} op den wärmsten dag van 't joar ook wiej noar 't park loop-t. ...that on the hottest day of theyear also we to the park walk

Whether the effect is best described in purely syntactic terms (i.e. syntactic adjacency) or whether the ultimate reason has to be sought in the fact that the subject does not belong to the prosodic domain of the complementizer in the b.-examples anymore<sup>8</sup> –that has to remain open here. What is important for the discussion here is that there must be a triggering element

If the verb has moved to  $C^0$  and the (clitic) pronoun is following it, we get a reduced version:

(ii) denn kumm-(e)-mer

However, if they are not adjacent, e.g. the pronoun is preceded by a focussing particle, then only the full version is possible:

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(iii) denn kumm-et/*e nuu mir. then come-pl red. only us
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So the different versions of the agreement morpheme cannot be attributed to the different positions, but is rather reducible to a phonological reduction process which is dependent on the adjacency of the pronoun – exactly as it is the case with complementizer agreement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Concerning the so-called inverted agreement pattern, this is also true at least in the Southern German dialects, as discussed in Brandner (1995). The 'normal' form of all plurals is *-et*:

<sup>(</sup>i) dass mer/ ihr/ die it kumm-et. that we you-pl they not come-pl

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This is the explanation given by Ackema & Neeleman (2004); however it could equally be possible that the focused subject (witness the operator *ook* in the b.examples) simply can no more qualify as a clitic.

bearing a relevant inflectional feature (surface) adjacent to it. Now,  $\delta$ -doubling in Alemannic is not possible if there is an adjective before the noun.

(15) a.\*bi's neue Nochbars het's brennt.

at new neighbours has it burnt

b. bi de neue Nochbar(e) het's brennt.

at thenew neighbours-(dat) has it burnt

In this case, the 'normal' plural has to show up, as in (15b)9.

In sum, we can see that -\delta\-doubling shares a lot of the characteristics that we can find in complementizer agreement constructions. If the analysis by Zwart (2006) is on the right track, we have another instance of doubling of an inflectional morpheme via analogical extension within one functional domain.

#### 2.2 DOUBLED PAST PARTICIPLE

Another type of morphological doubling is the doubling of the past participle as exemplified in (16):

(16) Erisch grad kumme gsi, no hond se 'n scho grfoget he is just come-PART be-PART then have they him already asked-PART ob...
whether....

#### 3 D SYNTACTIC DOUBLING

### 3.1 D TUN-INSERTION

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One of the most prominent doubling constructions in the German varieties is  $\partial v$ -insertion (tun-insertion). Although it is often considered to be a dialectal phenomenon, it seems to be more adequate in this case to make a distinction between spoken and written language. As is discussed in Langer (2000) in great detail, it is clear that the ban on tun-insertion in most contexts is due to stylistic, i.e. prescriptive, reasons rather than to differences in the grammar. For a recent overview of the occurrences of  $\partial v$ -insertion in the South Alemannic dialect, see Schwarz (2004), on more general and historical aspects, see Langer (2000), see also Fischer (1998, 2000).

Before starting the discussion on optional *tun*, let me first briefly mention and illustrate the only instance of *tun*-insertion in German which is obligatory and thus possible/accepted also in the standard language. These are the cases where the non-finite verb has been topicalized and no other auxiliary can be inserted since it would add further semantic content. (17) is an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Which is basically never used if the -4 doubling construction is possible, i.e. if only a simple noun occurs. So it seems as if the Elsewhere Principle applied. That could be taken as a further indication that the process is morphological in nature.

Alemannic example but this pattern is also possible in Standard German as well as in many other dialects:

(17) SCHLOFE tond se noit V2 movement sleep-INF  $\partial o-3PL$  they not-yet (contrastive accent)

Note first that the SpecCP position in V2 constructions is not necessarily a focus-position (all kinds of topics, e.g. unstressed (subject-) pronouns, adverbials and expletives can occur there equally). But in a case like (17), the element in SpecCP must be focused – otherwise the sentence would at least be highly marked. So focusing of the lexical verb is a pre-condition for *tun*-insertion.

That *tun* is indeed a dummy, expletive-like verb (in this construction, see below for other instances), can be seen in the following examples<sup>10</sup>:

(18) a. ÄHNELN tut er seinem Vater schon.

resemble does he his tather prt

b.\*weil er seinem Vater schon ÄHNELN tut.

because he his tather prt resemble does

A stative verb like *ähneln* combines perfectly well with *tun* if the latter is in the C-position. But if *tun* occurs together with the lexical verb within the VP, as in (18b), the sentence is rejected, even by dialect speakers. Note that although the lexical verb is focussed, the sentence is nevertheless not accepted. The reason is that the stative meaning of the main verb is not compatible with the (inherent) activity verb *tun*.

It is not entirely clear whether this should be taken as evidence that there are two types of tun in the lexicon; one as a pure dummy (as it would be the case in English  $\partial \sigma$ - $\sigma$ upport which has the configuration in (18a), i.e.  $\partial \sigma$  is in  $C^0$  and one with the activity meaning and thus being restricted in its combinatorial possibilities. A more promising way to account for the contrast in (18) would be to assume that certain lexical items lose some of their semantic features as soon as they enter into the C-domain of the clause. An example for this would be the various usages of the locative or temporal adverbial  $\partial \sigma$  in German which can also be used as an expletive. As is discussed in great detail in Bayer & Suchsland (1998) it seems to be the case that the higher up in the tree the element occurs, the less it retains its semantic components. Compare the following two sentences:

haben sie Autofahrer dann an Ort und Stelle (19) a. da einem they a-dat car-driver then at the spot den Führerschein abgenommen. driver-licence away-taken haben ?(da) einem Autofahrer ?\*(da) dann an b. sie Ort und Stelle they have then a car-driver then then at.the spot and place \*(da) den Führerschein abgenommen. then the дriver-licence away-taken 'They have immediately taken away the driver-licence from the car driver.'

In both sentences, time and space are specified with an adverbial ( $\partial ann$ , resp. an Ort und Stelle). If  $\partial a$  occurs either in SpecCP, as in (19a) or in a position immediately following it (Wackernagel position which belongs to the CP-layer) it can co-occur with the adverbials. But if it occurs lower in the clause (i.e. in the A-domain) it seems to introduce a place/time specification of its own. Although  $\partial a$  can only be used deictically and is thus underspecified in a way, it obviously introduces a referential index, colliding with the indices given by the other adverbials. If inserted (or moved) to the CP-layer, it loses the ability to refer, i.e. its semantic

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Thanks to Josef Bayer for pointing out to me this contrast.

contribution is cancelled. And this is what seems to be happening with *tun* in constructions like in (18a).

However, merely being situated in  $C^0$  is obviously not enough for tun to be able to 'strip away' its meaning components. In (20), tun is also in  $C^0$  and the focus is on the infinitive, but the sentence is ruled out nevertheless, even in the dialect:

(20) \* er tuet in Stuegert nuu WOHNE (aber it dort SCHAFFE). he does in S. only live but notthere work 'He lives only in Stuttgart, but he doesn't work there.'

Here, as well as in (18b), there is another possibility for the derivation, namely that the main verb itself moves to  $C^0$  and makes thus the insertion of *tun* superfluous - and this seems to be the preferred option – in Standard German as well as in the dialects.

So, *tun* is sensitive to the meaning of the verb with which it combines and the only case where this can be 'overridden' is if there is no other syntactic possibility to obey the V2 constraint. From this, we can conclude that the insertion of *tun* is by no means optional and thus obeys economy – at least in the cases discussed until now.

Things are different with main verbs that express an activity. Here, *tun* can be inserted rather easily (in the dialect) and it has the effect that the main verb in its base position is focussed; however, in contrast to the cases in (18), this is not necessarily a contrastive focus:

(21) die tond etz no SCHAFFE! they do now still work-inf

The natural focus position in German is a rather low position, i.e. as far to the right as possible. Now *tun*-insertion enables the verb to stay in its base position which is a focus position per se. Another –equally accepted – possibility would be to move the lexical verb to C<sup>0</sup> and endow it with a contrastive accent. But note that this is exactly an instance where external merge and internal merge would be equally costly, i.e. we would expect to have true optionality in this case. And since there is no conflict between the involved verbs w.r.t. their meaning components, the derivation is fine.

The case is different, if (21) was an embedded clause. In this case, *tun*-insertion is indeed superfluous since the verb is already in the natural focus position. This explains why *tun* basically never occurs in embedded clauses, see Schwarz (2004) and the references cited therein.

Thus, tun-insertion seems to be just one strategy to focus a lexical verb. However, since this is not the only possibility to express focus in the grammar of German, e.g. accentuation or the insertion of a particle would be equally possible, it is quite plausible that this strategy has been subject to stylistic rules which in this case eventually led to an artificial ban on this construction, as is shown convincingly in Langer (2000). He illustrates this with several telling citations from contemporary grammarians. However, since tun-insertion obviously does not lead to a violation of the grammatical rules of German (beside the cases discussed in (18), it is still used and accepted in the dialects. But —as already mentioned above— it is questionable whether this is a property of a given dialect or rather one of spoken language. Langer (2000) argues for the latter view since he found in his Early New High German corpus no significant differences between the various dialects he examined.

In sum, tun-insertion in the cases discussed until now is just one strategy to mark a specific information structure. Its insertion is unrestricted if the lexical verb is in SpecCP and if there is thus no other possibility to obey the V2 constraint (last resort operation). In the cases where the main verb could move to C<sup>0</sup>, we observe lexical restrictions (not compatible with stative verbs). Since tun-insertion leading to a configuration where the lexical verb is situated 'automatically' in a focus position, is not the only focussing strategy in German, this construction is truly optional (under an economy perspective). Therefore, it could be the

input for a prescriptive/stylistic rule, leading to a ban against the construction in the standardized written language<sup>11</sup>.

I will leave the discussion of 'optional' *tun* and turn to those cases where *tun* has developed (or is on its way) into an auxiliary.

#### 3.1.2 HABITUAL/PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKING

As has been noted in the literature (see e.g. Abraham/Fischer (1998), Fischer (2000)), there are cases of *tun*-insertion in the dialects where the construction leads to a specific aspectual interpretation:

- (22) a. Sie tuet etz nümme radfahre (because she is too old now).

  \*\*she does now not-anymore cycling\*\*

  'She doesn't cycle anymore.'
  - b. Sie tuet etz nümme lese (because her eyes are too weak).

    she does now not-anymore read

    'She doesn't read anymore.'
- (23) Er tuet it gern lese. he does not prt read 'He doesn't like to read.'
- (24) Die tond grad esse.

  they do just eat-inf

  'They are eating (at the moment).'
- (22) and (23) have a habitual reading, (24) a progressive one.

However, there is a small difference between the two cases exemplified in (22),(23) and (24). Whereas the constructions with the habitual reading can occur in embedded clauses, this seems to be at least very marked in the case of the progressive one:

- (25) dass se nümme gern lese tuet.

  that shenot-anymoreprt read does

  'That she doesn't like to read anymore.'
- (26) ?? dass se grad esse tond. that they just eat  $\partial o$

The markedness of (26) however is not that strong as in the cases discussed in the previous section. A possibility one might think of is that there are only very few contexts imaginable where (26) would be uttered in an embedded context. The only possible cases that come to mind are either constructions with epistemic verbs (believe, think) or verbs of perception (see, hear). However, note also that there is another possibility to express the progressive, namely with a verbal noun introduced by a preposition:

(27) Die sind grad am/ bim Esse.

the are just at-the/ by-the eating

This construction is only possible with pure verbs. If there are (referring) arguments within the VP, the *tun*-insertion construction is chosen:

(28) a.\*Sie sind grad am/ bim die gross Wies maie.

they are just at-the/ by-thethe great meadow mow

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> It has been observed that this kind of tun-insertion is used very frequently if adults speak with children. A reason for this could be that adults unconsciously 'help' the child to acquire the lexical verbs because (i) the verb is in a prominent prosodic position – as just outlined above and (ii) that the verb appears in an uninflected, invariable form. And as is well-known, inflection leads in German in many cases to stem-alternations and thus the acquisition of lexical verbs is facilitated if a *tun*-construction is chosen. However, this is speculation and I will not go further into it.

b. Sie tond grad die gross Wies maie they do just the great meadow mow

And in this case, the embedded version with tun is fine:

(29) Ich ha gsehne dass se grad die gross Wies maie tond I have seen that they just the great meadoe mow do

So it seems as if the nominalized version is preferred – if it is possible – but there is no general problem with embedded progressives. We can thus conclude that the markedness of (26) is obviously not due to an inherent syntactic property but rather to the existence of a concurring construction in case of a simple verb.

#### 3.1.3 TUN AS AN AUXILIARY

The last occurrences of *tun*-insertion that I want to discuss here are those where *tun* acts as an auxiliary in the context of subjunctives. It has been claimed in the literature (see the overview given by Schwarz (2004)), that *tun* is inserted in order to avoid the subjunctive inflection, be it because the forms are unfamiliar (because of their low frequency) or because – especially with Konjunktiv I, see below – they coincide in some cases with the present indicative. However, first it has to be noted that subjunctive forms are used more frequently in Alemannic than in Standard German. Especially Konjunktiv I which is used for indirect speech is very common. And in this case we see that the version where the lexical verb is inflected is even preferred over the version with *tun*:

(30) Sie hond gseet...

```
a. ??[dass se oh no kumme teiet].

that they also prt come do-subj
b. [dass se oh no kämptet].

that they also prt come-subj
```

If the analysis in section 3.1.1. is correct, then we can explain the pattern in (30) rather easily: it would be a superfluous insertion of *tun*. Consider furthermore that the version in (31) is equally accepted.

(31) Sie hond gseet sie teiet oh no kumme. they have said they do-subj. also prtcome

In Alemannic, embedded V2 clauses are much more frequent than in Standard German, especially in the context of propositional verbs. In this case then, we can attribute the insertion of the subjunctive marked *tun* to the information structural reasons and not to the subjunctive marking itself. Thus, the pattern shown in (30) and (31) corresponds to the above established principles for *tun*-insertion.

The case is different with Konjunktiv II which is used in Irrealis contexts:

(32) Mir tätet der Kueche scho esse [wenn mir in möge tätet]. we do-irr the cake prt eat if we him like do-irr

The periphrastic form is also preferred in Standard German - with the sole difference that the auxiliary there is the subjunctive form of warden, i.e. wired. So tun-insertion in this case reduces to a different choice of the auxiliary and so we have a garden variety of the well known process in the history of German that analytic forms tend to replace synthetic ones.

#### 3.2 PREPOSITION DOUBLING

In this section, I will discuss two instances of doubling phenomena within the PP. I will first discuss the so-called R-pronouns (see van Riemsdijk (1978)). The second case where doubling occurs are constructions of the type *auf den Berg binauf* (up the mountain prt-up), i.e.

where the preposition occurs twice: before the NP in a simple form and after the NP in combination with a directional particle.

#### 3.2.1 R-PRONOUN DOUBLING

- (33) shows how an R-pronoun is realized in Alemannic in its most typical way:
  - (33) Do ha-n-i it dra denkt. there have I not there-upon thought 'I didn't thing about that.'

As is obvious from the gloss, the R-pronoun appears twice: first as the locative adverbial  $\partial o$  in SpecCP and secondly in a reduced form directly attached to the preposition.

The observation made in Fleischer (2002) that the (High) Alemannic dialects do not use the form where both R-pronouns occur adjacent is thus confirmed; especially if the R-pronoun acts as the correlate of an embedded clause, cf. (34a). If there is no doubling, the sentence is basically accepted:

- (34) a.?\*mir hond etz it dodemit g'rechnet [dass du kunnsch] we have now notthere-there-with reckoned [that you come] b.?mir hond it demit g'rechnet [dass du kunnsch]. we have not there-with reckoned [that you come] 'We didn't reckon upon that that you will come.'
- (35) a.??dodemit hommer g'rechnet. it reckoneд there-there-with have-we not hammer it g'rechnet. there-with have-we notreckoned c.?do hommeretz demit g'rechnet. it there have-we now not there-with reckoned d. mit dem hommer etz it g'rechnet. with that have-we reckoned now not 'We didn't reckon upon that.'

First, (35b) shows that the reduced form cannot occur alone in SpecCP. This holds also for other forms like those in (36):

(36) a.\*draa hommer it denkt.

there-on have-we notthought

'We did not think about that.'

b.\*devu hommer nünt gwisst.

there-of have-we nothing known

'We didn't know anything about that.'

(35b) and (36) suggest that the 'inner' –dr- is added to the lexical core in the morphology and is thus not analyzed as a separate word. The structure of  $\partial$ *emit* is [pde-mit], i.e. an X<sup>0</sup>-category (see also Oppenrieder (1991), Bayer (1996), also Brandner (1995) and below for further elaboration). If this is true then the ungrammaticality of these examples finds a natural explanation: SpecCP is not occupied by a maximal phrase.

Note further that there is a slight difference in acceptability between (35a) and (35c), i.e. the complex, doubled form is much less accepted than the 'divorced' form. With respect to the divorced form, this suggests that  $\partial o$  is base-generated in SpecCP and thus acts like a V2 expletive rather than a genuine part of an R-pronoun<sup>12</sup>. Evidence for this view comes from the following example:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Note that this implies that there is no movement of the expletive and thus also no preposition stranding of the type  $\partial a$  habe ich nichts von gewusst (there have I nothing from known), which is used in the Northern varieties of

(37) # dass er do etz ooh nünt demit afange ka.

that he there now also nothing there-with begin can

'We can't do anything with it.'

Although the sentence is grammatical,  $\partial o$  has in this case a rather strong local reading, i.e. it is not an expletive and obviously also not part of the R-pronoun, cf. (34). Instead it is a locative/temporal adverb which occurs independently of the R-pronoun, see also the discussion of the locative expletive in section 3.1.1, example (19). The constituent occupying SpecCP in (35a) would then be of a complex type where the R-pronoun is somehow attached to the expletive. Considering the general ban on this 'word form', the data considered until now show that something else is going on with R-pronouns in Alemannic.

A first hint on that is that the version in (35d) seems to be generally the preferred one. Native speakers use the simple PP form followed by a pronoun much more readily than the one with a doubled R-pronoun. Now this fits the observation very well that in Alemannic, and for that matter also in Bavarian (see Bayer (1996)), the wh-counterpart of an R-pronoun simply does not exist<sup>13</sup>:

(38) STANDARD GERMAN ALM (BAV)

a. #womitb. #woraufc. #woranmit wa (with what)uff wa (upon what)a wa (at what)

*Wo* in SpecCP can only be used if it has a locative meaning, as in the following example:

(39) wo hesch des her? ALM where have-you that from

The unavailability of the wh-forms and the reluctance in using R-pronouns together with the restrictions under which they can occur at all, suggests that R-pronoun formation is not really part of the grammar of these varieties. Instead, it seems as if forms like  $\partial amit$  are imported from Standard German. But – for whatever reason  $^{14} - \partial a$  can not 'replace' the argument of the preposition, as it is the case with the R-pronouns in Standard German. Instead  $\partial a$  is analyzed as belonging to the preposition at the word level.

A final piece of evidence that the internal structure (and probably the diachronic development) of PPs and prepositional adverbs is different in Alemannic (compared to Standard German and for that matter also to Bavarian) are the following pairs:

(40)	ALM	Standard German		
	h-usse – d-usse	aussen – draussen	outside	
	h-obe – d-obe	oben – (dr-)oben <sup>15</sup>	above	
	h-unne d-unne	unten – (dr-)unten	below	

German. Constructions like this are rejected in Alemannic. See Oppenrieder (1991) for an account without movement, for a different view Bayer (1996).

It is interesting that exactly those dialects that do not use wo-P forms have instead wo as the generalized relative particle, see section 4. I cannot go into that but it would be interesting to see if such a correlation indeed holds. It may very well be the case that the reason is basically phonological in nature. Alemannic does not have tensed vowels at the end of a syllable. This can be seen e.g. for Standard German zu, the infinitival marker. This element occurs in Alemannic either as a clitic-like element z' or as a complex form zum (consisting of zu and a reduced determiner), see Brandner 2006 for more detailed discussion. In the case above, this leads to the observed situation where we have the clitic-like d' which is obviously not conceived as a separate word. The other possible variant for Standard German  $\partial a$  is  $\partial o$  (which has a long vowel), but this element has in Alemannic a obviously different lexical specification than in Standard German.

<sup>15</sup> According to the Duden Universalwörterbuch (2001), the forms with dr- are classified as dialectal (Bavarian) but some of these forms have entered Standard German, see Harnisch (1996,2000) for a detailed overview and discussion.

The two forms in Alemannic distinguish clearly between the positions where the speaker is situated: the forms with h-, which stem from *hier* ('here'), are used when the speaker is at the same place, i.e. proximal; the forms with d-, which stem from  $\partial a(r)$  ('there'), are used when the object described is away from the speaker, i.e. distal. (41) illustrates the difference very clearly:

This pattern is not found in Standard German as can be witnessed from (41b) – at least not with the productivity that we see in Alemannic. Observe that there are no signs any more of an underlying /r/ in the Alemannic examples whereas the Standard German, resp. the Bavarian examples all retain the /r/. Note furthermore that all these expressions have a spatial reading only, i.e. in contrast to 'classical' R-pronouns, they cannot refer to an abstract entity, viz. an event.

Krause (2003) suggests that the modern R-pronouns did not evolve from forms like those in (42), which are attested in Old High German, but rather from expressions like in (43):

- (42) tharmit(i) (therewith), tharfora (there-before)...
- (43) mit thiu/mit thaz (with  $DET_{instr/acc}$ ), for thiu (before  $DET_{instr}$ ), bi thiu (by  $DET_{instr}$ )...

The point is that basically only the forms in (43) have the function which R-pronouns have in the modern language; and this is the one of a correlate to a following (or preceding) clause <sup>16</sup>, describing an event or a state-of-affairs. Forms like the one in (42) – although they look like the modern R-pronouns – have only a concrete spatial interpretation, cf. the Alemannic examples in (41). Now recall that Alemannic prefers as a correlate the analytic form P + DET<sub>dat</sub>, cf. the example in (35d) – and this is the modern counterpart of (43).

The situation then would be as follows, if Krause (2003) is right: The  $\partial ar+P$  forms have kept their spatial meaning in all variants. The difference between Alemannic (or other dialects that use h-/d- forms) and other variants is that in the former the reduced forms of *bere* and *there*, namely *bie* and  $\partial a$ , were input to the word-formation component whereas in the latter,  $\partial ar$  is reduced to  $\partial r$ - and we find forms like  $\partial raussen$ , cf. (41). These forms have only spatial (or temporal) meaning and do not refer to abstract entities.

'Classical' R-pronouns then have the base structure in (44), i.e. there is no locative adverb in the input structure but rather a (neuter) pronoun. This makes sense if we consider the fact that R-pronouns generally refer to entities rather than to places. For Standard German (and northern varieties) we must postulate then an incorporation process by which this pronoun is moved to the specifier of P, leading to R-pronoun formation<sup>17</sup>. Whether this was triggered by a kind of analogy to the spatial complex forms has to be left open here.

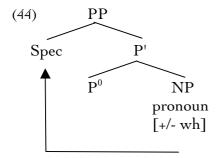
However, if this is true then we can account for the fact rather easily that Alemannic does not have wo+P-forms at all and uses  $\partial a+P$ -forms only in an 'alienated' form, namely with doubling of the d-component: the productive word formation process that replaces the complement of a preposition with a pronoun in its specifier is simply non-existent in Alemannic. Instead, analytic forms like P + DET and P + WH are used. In essence, an operation like the one

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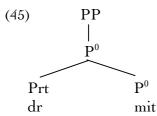
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> It should also be noted that many of these forms can act as complementizers, especially bithiu with a causal and/or final meaning, corresponding roughly to *because (of that)*, see Krause (2002:112 ff) and references cited there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> This would strengthen those analyses that assume that the /r/ is epenthetic in this context and not a relict of the former stage.

depicted in (44) does not exist in Alemannic but is available in Standard German and the northern varieties.



Alemannic analyzes these forms as follows:



Bayer (1996) suggests that the doubled R-pronoun in Bayarian is base-generated in the specifier position and  $\partial r$ - is the nominal argument of the preposition, having incorporated into it (see also Brandner (1995)). However, since we have seen that Alemannic essentially does not tolerate the doubled R-pronoun in the specifier of PP, an analysis which assumes basegeneration seems preferable; otherwise we had to stipulate an obligatory movement operation. The question then arises why the [-wh] forms could enter the language in the form in (45) but not the [+wh] forms, cf. (38). The 'inner d(r)' in Alemannic shows up only in a reduced form, i.e. there is no possibility to stress this pronoun e.g. for focusing. This is obviously somehow compensated by the insertion of another (locative) adverbial, acting as an expletive. Now a [+wh] form must be focused and thus the simple form cannot occur in SpecCP (in an interrogative clause). The next question then is: why does Alemannic not use a doubled form just like in the cases with  $\partial r$ -? The answer is that there is no wh-expletive that could function the same way as the adverbial  $\partial o$ . Although Alemannic has a wh-expletive – it uses the was-wconstruction productively, see the introduction, example (2) – this would not help. Notice that in was-w-construction, the expletive is never allowed to co-occur with the 'real wh-phrase' within one single clause. And this would be required (or at least could not be avoided) if the doubling strategy for the [+wh] forms would be used. In essence then, doubling is not possible in the case of the [+wh] form since then there would be two instances of a wh-expressions (referring to the same entity) within one single clause.

The final question then is why Alemannic does not use a form like in (46)?

This form would not pose a problem w.r.t. the double occurrence of a wh-feature and should thus be expected to occur if the above analysis is on the right track. Our informants rejected this form completely; however Susanne Trissler (p.c), who is a native speaker of Swabian (with a very high competence in Standard German), informs me that she would accept such a

form in her dialect, i.e. that this would be the only outcome of a Swabian form for Standard German *womit*. This corroborates the suggested analysis<sup>18</sup>.

'Doubling' in this case then should be considered as a kind of 'repair strategy', resolving a problem that has its origin in the import of a lexical item that has a different categorial specification. This strategy cannot be used in the case of [+wh] forms for independent reasons.

I will leave now the discussion of R-pronouns. There are many questions left open, but I hope that the preceding discussion has shown (i) that there arise many interesting issues if one carefully considers the dialectal variation in this area, and (ii) that diachronic considerations may help to understand contemporary variation or even 'repair strategies'.

### 3.2.2 PREPOSITION DOUBLING

In this section I will discuss a doubling construction which is also found in Standard German (and of course in many other dialects). These are the complex (or circum-) positions of the type shown in (47) for Standard German:

auf den Berg (47)hinauf. the mountain DIR-on

However, the surface manifestation of it in Alemannic is interesting since (i) the 'second' preposition does not show (overtly) the directional particle hin- or her; (ii) the doubling seems to be much more widespread than in Standard German and is - as native speakers told us nearly obligatory. Similar statements can be found in traditional descriptions of various dialects, e.g. the 'Westallgäuer Mundart' by Gruber (1989:148)<sup>19</sup>, who writes that 'the pleonastic doublings of a local adverb with a verb, or a preposition with a local adverb, are very popular, in order to make the description clearer.'

Some examples are given below:

### **DIRECTIONAL:**

- ich fahr uffKoostanz uffi. (48)drive on K.
- (49)stell's a d'Wand ani. at the wall at-DIR out it
- (50)er isch vu de Loater abi from the ladder from-DIR fallen he is

#### LOCATIONAL:

- es hanget <u>a</u> de Wand (<u>d</u>)anne. (51)
- (52)es isch uff de Dilli obe.

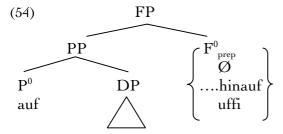
This is different in Standard German where one of the prepositions can be dropped rather easily.

(53) a. Erist auf den Berg hinaufgestiegen. b. Erist \_\_\_ den Berg hinaufgestiegen. c. Erist auf den Berg \_\_\_ gestiegen.

The construction has received much attention beginning with the work by van Riemsdijk (1978), van Riemsdijk (1990,1998), and van Riemsdijk & Huijbregts (2002), see also Zeller (2001) for an approach based on van Riemsdijk's work. The following structure is assumed:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> It seems also to be the case that Swabian speakers accept word forms like dodemit more readily than our Alwmannic speakers. However, more empirical research on this topic is needed before one can draw further

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> These dialects belongs also to the Alemannic group.

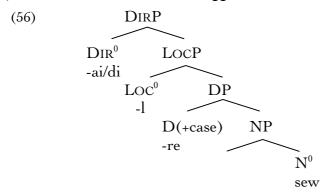


The important point is that the (semi-)lexical preposition occurs on the left whereas the 'functional closing' of the whole phrase is the right-headed functional projection  $F^0_{prep}$ , as shown in the structure above. This position can be either empty (e.g. in English) or host the second preposition (with specified directionality). This would also be the natural place for Alemannic *uffi*.

The German structure is analyzed by van Riemsdijk in the light of the Lezgian PP which shows an overt morphological marking of LOCATION and DIRECTION:

(55) sew-re-l on the bear sew-re-l-ai on the bear (from below) sew-re-l-di on the bear (from upward)

In Lezgian, LOC(ality) is always specified and DIR(ectionality) if necessary. Van Riemsdijk assigns the Lezgian PP a right headed structure, corresponding to the surface order of the morphemes; however a left headed structure can derive the ordering of the morphological items equally well if one assumes the rather common operation of head movement via head-adjunction to the left. So I will suggest the following structure for the Lezgian PP:



The parallelism between Lezgian as the 'morphological extreme' and German as the 'syntactic extreme', Riemsdijk & Huijbregts (2002), is suggestive: both languages express explicitly LOC and DIR (in contrast to a language like English) and in both languages there is a fixed order of these elements. Nevertheless, there are problems with the structures they assume.

First, they suggest a structure where the functional head occurs to the right. This would be the only instance of such a functional category even in an OV language like German<sup>20</sup>.

Second, I see no way how this structure could explain why we find a doubling of the preposition. If the German structure were parallel to Lezgian, then one would expect that only the directional particle *hin* or *her* occurs in the highest P-head, i.e. the DIR-head. Note that these items can occur in isolation<sup>21</sup>, which immediately excludes an explanation in terms of phonological weakness, i.e. they are clitic like elements and thus need a host in order to

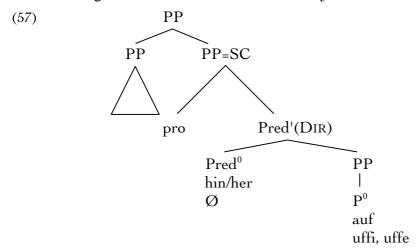
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> right headed I??

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> E.g. as a stranded particle as in *er brachte ihn hin* (he brought him there-to). *Hin* clearly belongs to the verb (*hinbringen* has a different meaning than simply *bringen*), however the important point is that the particle can surface as a word of its own.

surface. There seems to be no good reason why the preposition should be merged again<sup>22</sup>. A third reason why the structure (56) is not fully adequate in my view is the fact that the element occupying the right-headed F-head can be moved to the SpecC position in V2 constructions - a rather unexpected behavior of functional heads (see below). The last two points apply also to approaches that a suggest a PP-structure with several functional 'shells' above the lexical preposition, e.g. Koopman (2000), den Dikken (2003, 2006), see also Helmantel (2002) for an overview.

In order to avoid these problems, I would like to suggest that the structure of these doubled prepositions is a complex PP with a small clause predicate. LOC is encoded as a simple preposition, forming a PP together with the DP, DIR is encoded in a particle (*hin*, *her*), taken here as the head of the small clause. However, as a particle it does not have a category and thus does not qualify as a predicate. It therefore combines with the (doubled version of the) preposition. This complex element acts as the predicate of a small clause whose subject is a pro, co-referring with the DP which is modified by the PP:



In Alemannic, the predicative nature of the preposition is signaled by the morphology (uffi,uffe vs. uff) and the Pred-head is empty. According to Hinderling (1980), the –e/i-alternation can be traced back to a stage where the directional particles (hin-/her-) were attached as suffixes to the respective preposition. This yields forms like ab-hin or ab-her which surface in contemporary Alemannic (via regular phonological developments) as ab-i resp. ab-e. Let us assume for the sake of concreteness that the preposition incorporates into the head in Alemannic but not in those varieties that have hin-ab (see Hinderling (1980) for the description of the areal distribution of these forms).

That the complex predicative PP is not solely a head but instead has more structure, as shown in de following examples:

(58)	a.?Hinauf ist er auf	den	$\operatorname{Berg}$	gegangen.	SG	
	DIR-up is he on b.??Abi isch er keit			v	ALM	
	down is he faller				711271	
(59)	9) a.*Auf den Berg ist er gegangen hinauf					
	up the mountain is he gone DIR-up					
	b.*Vu de loater is				ALM	
	from thelaддеr is	he	fallen up-DI	R		

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  Note that the situation seems to be different in Dutch in that there is no doubling of the preposition but rather an addition of some adverbial, termed in Koopman (2000) and den Dikken (xx), as circumposition.

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Topicalization is marginally possible but extraposition is completely out; recall that PPs can normally extrapose rather easily. (59) could be explained by a head-analysis but the topicalization is a problem if we do not want to give up the rather well established generalization that only XPs can occur in SpecCP in a V2 construction<sup>23</sup>.

On the other hand, if we compare the pattern in (58) and (59) with a genuine small clause construction, we find exactly the same behavior:

(60) a. Für einen Idioten hab ich ihn schon immer gehalten. for iдiot have I him always considered 'I always considered him an idiot.' b.\*Ich hab ihn schon immer gehalten für einen Idioten. always bave bim prt considered for iдiot 'I always considered him an idiot.'

The advantage of the proposed small clause structure in addition to the PP is that it can explain its outer syntax rather easily and it can nevertheless serve as the input structure for particle verbs, as is discussed in detail in Zeller (2001).

A final point to be addressed in this context is whether this predicative element should be taken as an adverbial or as a preposition. There is diachronic evidence that elements like these were the predecessors of 'real' prepositions, cf. Baldi (1979). According to him, these adverbs (originally case endings, nouns, or particles) were attached originally to the verb. These complex verbs were able to enlarge the lexicon by using the same verbal base; these complex verbs can lexicalize various concepts of the base meaning (e.g. come: come around, come to, come through etc.). In a later stage, when the case endings themselves lost their range of meanings (including for example locative and instrumental), these elements were used to enforce the now weakened case meanings. This led to a situation where they were also used in combination with nouns and this configuration was the basis for the development of prepositions – as they occur now in the modern languages. Baldi cites examples from Latin where we find basically the same situation as in Modern German, respectively in Alemannic:

(61) Caesar milites <u>trans</u> Rhenum <u>trans</u>duxit. (Caes. BG. 1, 35)

C. soldiers across R across-led

(62) legiones <u>ad</u> urbem <u>ad</u>ducere. (Cic, Fam. 12,23,2)

legions to town to-lead

Baldi (1980:58) claims that such an 'over-specified, redundantly marked construction was doomed'. However, Alemannic seems to have preserved this 'archaic' state to a certain extent, especially if we consider the cases in (51) and (52) where no DIR is involved but only a locational (over-)specification. Admittedly, these cases are rare, and we do not find the near-obligatoriness as with the DIR-PPs. But the important point is that under this analysis, these elements are of the category 'adverb' and then the 'doubling' is not a real doubling in the sense that there are two identical elements occurring within the same domain.

### 3.3 DOUBLY FILLED COMP

One of the most discussed doubling phenomena occurring in South German dialects is the general violation of the Doubly filled Comp Filter. This means that wh-words in embedded interrogatives can co-occur with a complementizer, contrary to Standard German. This holds for Bavarian, Swiss German, Alemannic and surely for many other dialects. It is widely believed and also sometimes explicitly stated, (e.g. Penner 1995, also Koopman (2000) for

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The marginality of V2 movement in (58) is probably due to the fact that it is hard to construct an appropriate context where this element is focalized. In a contrastive construction like *hinauf ist er den Berg ja gelaufen aber hinab musste er getragen werden*, the topicalization sounds rather natural..

Dutch dialects) that the insertion of the complementizer is basically free and thus not subject to narrow syntax but rather to the PF component. This assumption was also the basis of the earliest treatments of this phenomenon, as its categorization as a 'filter' suggests.

In Bayer & Brandner (ms) we have shown that this view is not correct. The insertion of the complementizer in embedded interrogatives underlies severe restrictions.

The basic distinction should be made between word-size wh-elements (who, what, how etc.) and wh-phrases of the type which X, or internally complex wh expressions like how many etc. Whereas the former virtually never occur with a complementizer, the latter almost require it. This has been noted already in traditional grammars of various dialects. Our own investigation in Alemannic and Bavarian confirmed these observations. Some examples are given below:

- (63) I woass it wo (?\*dass) se sind. ALM
  I know not where that they are
- (64) I woass it wa (\*dass) se em gea hond.

  I know not what that they him given have
- (65) Es tät mi scho interessiere mit wellere Gschicht ?\*(dass) se etzt it would me prt interest with which story that they now kummet.

  arrive (tell)
- (66) I woass it wieviel ?\*(dass) se em gea hond.

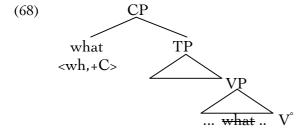
  I know not how much that they him given have

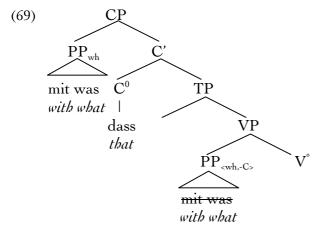
However the ban on co-occurrence of the complementizer with a short wh-element can be 'overridden' if the wh-phrase is strongly focused, e.g. in a contrastive construction, see Noth (1993) (not confirmed by all our informants):

(67) Mir wisset scho WO dass se aakummet aber immer no-it WENN. we know already where that they will arrive but still yet-not when

In order to account for this pattern, Bayer & Brandner suggest word-size wh-features can have a 'latent' C-feature in their lexical entry which enables them to act as a wh-phrase (responsible for the typing of a clause) and as a complementizer simultaneously.

This implies that these elements are re-merged as a head and project up to CP-level, fulfilling the select ional restrictions of the matrix verb. The idea is that this can happen only with word-size wh-elements since these are (surface) ambiguous between head- and phrase-status. The concept of 'latency' of the C-feature captures the fact that these wh-words can activate this feature only if they are directly merged with the clausal projection line, and not if they are contained within a bigger phrase. To illustrate:





In (68), the word-size wh-element is re-merged as a head to the clausal projection and is thus in a configuration where it can activate its C-feature. Since it is in a selection relation with TP, it can project to a higher level (CP). This is not possible in (69) since the wh-word is contained in a PP and thus will never be in a sister-relation with TP.

The idea that wh-words can be re-merged as heads is supported by the following cliticization facts from Alemannic<sup>24</sup>:

```
(70) a. ...wa -<u>n</u> -er tuet.
...what -N-he does
'...what he does.'
b. ...wo -<u>n</u> -er ani isch.
...where -N-he towards is
'...where he has gone to.'
```

As indicated in the example, Alemannic has a so-called intruding -n-, i.e. a consonant that is inserted in order to avoid a hiatus. This intruding -n- is not possible if the wh-word is located in SpecCP, e.g. in root question:

The important point is now that we find intrusion (or in this case sandhi) again if an auxiliary beginning with a vowel forms a verbal cluster with an infinitive (the -n of the infinitive is deleted in isolation).

```
(72) a. ...wo -n -er gange -<u>n</u> -isch. (cf. er isch gangeØ)
...as -N-he went -N-is
'... as he left.'
b.*... dass es schö -<u>n</u> -isch. (cf. es isch schöØ)
... that it nice -N-is
'... that it is nice.'
```

As can be seen in (72b), there is no sandhi if the (surface adjacent) head is contained within a bigger phrase – in this case an AP – although the phonological requirements are met. We can conclude from these facts that –*n*-intrusion (sandhi) is sensitive to the syntactic configuration which in this case means that it occurs only if there are two heads in a head-head configuration.

The analysis given above allows a different perspective on the whole issue of DFC. Assuming that the highest functional head of a clausal projection must be overtly realized, we can

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Similar facts hold for Bavarian, see Bayer & Brandner (ms) for illustration.

interpret the data from Alemannic as follows: the occurrence of a complementizer can only be avoided if another element (with an appropriate lexical specification, i.e. in our case a worddize wh-expression) is able to replace it. The question then is why Standard German and also e.g. Standard English<sup>25</sup> can do without overt complementizers in embedded questions? I cannot offer a completely satisfying answer to this question (see Bayer & Brandner (ms) for some speculations). However, it seems indisputable that the DFCF is – under a diachronic perspective – a relatively late development, even in the standardized languages. So it may very well be the case that the non-insertion of a complementizer even with complex wh-phrases is a kind of 'overgeneralization', i.e. the pattern found with simple wh-expressions is transferred to all cases. And since the specifier is always filled in these constructions (due to obligatory wh-movement) the syntactic environment gives enough information for the identification of the clausal head such that we may speak of 'PF-dropping' in these varieties. Under this perspective, DFC-phenomena should not be treated as doubling phenomena.

#### 4 DOUBLING VIA INTERFACE

In this last section, I will discuss two cases of doubling in Alemannic which should be analyzed as 'redundant doubling', i.e. one element is superfluous in the sense that it does not contribute to the syntactic well-formedness of the construction in question or makes it less ambiguous, as it was the case for the examples with the doubled prepositions.

One case I will discuss has to do with the marking of infinitives. The observation is that in some infinitival constructions, Alemannic speakers tend to use two infinitival markers within the same clause. I will show that this should be treated as an interference effect from the standard language.

Another possible candidate for such a categorization is the occurrence of a relative pronoun together with the relative marker wo. I will first briefly discuss the relative pronoun and then come to the infinitival constructions.

### 4.1 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Alemannic – like many other dialects - uses an invariable particle to introduce relative clauses. The form of this particle is *wo* and it corresponds to the wh-counterpart of 'there', i.e. it has a locative/deictic meaning. This is illustrated for accusative/nominative arguments in (73), for a dative argument in (74) and for a prepositional phrase, i.e. an oblique marking, in (75).

- (73) Der Ma/ die Frau/ des Kind [wo kummen isch]/
  the man the woman the child RP come is
  [wo-n- I gsehne ha].
  RP I seen have
- (74) Dem Ma [wo-n- I gholfe ha] kaasch ebbes gea. the.DAT man RP I helped have can-you something give
- (75) ...die Kind [wo se d'Schue von-ene gfunde hond]. ... the children RP they the shoes from them found have

Note that the resumptive phrase (von-ene) in (75) is obligatory whereas in the other cases, a gap is licit.

Full Pronouns as relative pronouns are only used in so-called V2 relatives<sup>26</sup>:

(76) I kenn ebber [der kunnt us Afrika] und...

I know somebody who comes from Africa and...

2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Recall that DFCF violations occur also in dialects of English, see Henry (1995) as well as in many Romance non-standardized varities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> see Gärtnerxx for a detailed treatment of this construction

Note that the two types of relative markers are in complementary distribution, i.e. a V2 relative can never be introduced by wo whereas in genuine relative clauses there is no pronoun in the 'unsophisticated' dialect, according to North (1983).

However, already Weise (1917) noted the co-occurrence of a relative pronoun with the particle *wo* in the Southern German dialects:

(77) Der Ma [**der wo** ..... 
$$V^0$$
] the man Rel.-pronoun Rel.-particle

According to our informants, there is no difference in interpretation (especially concerning the restrictive/appositive interpretation – as one might expect). It is also not the case that the pronoun is used, e.g. if there is a contrastive focus etc. The two variants seem to be in free variation. If we consider the structure of a relative clause (a rather conservative analysis, here), it is easy to see how the additional pronoun can be integrated. Assuming that the relative particle is situated in C<sup>0</sup>, the specifier is free to host an additional element. Since the two relative clauses introducing elements do not collide in terms of competition for a distinguished position, integrating this additional element into the clausal structure does not lead to a revision of the grammar. As such, it can be borrowed easily as it does not provoke the altering of the (sub-)system that derives relative clauses in Alemannic. If this is correct, we have a case of doubling in the sense of redundancy. However, since the pronoun (as a relative clause marker) does not belong to the grammar of Alemannic itself, it does not violate economy in the sense of the discussion in the introduction.

# 4.2 DOUBLING OF THE INFINITIVAL MARKER

The second case I would like to discuss in the context of interference is a bit more complex. As has been noted by Müller (2000), in Swabian (which belongs to Alemannic), we encounter infinitivals of the following shape:

In this purpose clause, there can be two infinitival markers: one at the beginning (zum which is a contracted form, consisting of  $zu + \partial em$ ); the other is a doubled form immediately preceding the infinitive. The second marker can occur in a reduced form (z') or be zero, i.e. there is no doubling. Since this is a purpose clause, one analysis that comes to mind is that this mimics the Standard German form of purpose infinitives where the infinitival marker also consists of two parts (at least on a surface oriented analysis):

In that case the solution would be easy: for whatever reason Standard German uses this complex type of infinitive, its Alemannic realization differs only in that it chooses different lexical items. It would thus involve doubling only on a morpho-phonological level in the sense that the two parts of the marker may be realized in an identical morpho-phonological shape but serving different demands. But this cannot be the whole story, as will become clear.

This kind of doubling is viz. also found in other constructions in which Standard German uses a 'simple' zu-infinitive; in the complements of propositional verbs, cf. (80) and in complements of nouns, cf. (81) (from R. Banholzer 2005:37):

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Müller (2000) gives examples of this form, i.e. where the introducing infinitival marker *zum* is in fact doubled, also in its phonological shape. As indicated, Swabian speakers also accept the reduced form. Our informants could only have the reduced form (or zero, see below) in the the second occurrence. I will assume that this is a surface variation and will this ignore this difference.

- (80) ? I han ehna grote  $\underline{zum}$  sich in Radolfzell  $\underline{z}'/\underline{\mathcal{O}}$  treffe I have them advised to-the each other in R. to-the/to meet
- (81) Wäng guete Wille hette mer <u>zum</u> 's Steuer ume'<u>z</u>'rieße. a bit good will had we to-the course prt-to-alter

First, it should be noted that Alemannic in general uses finite clauses under propositional verbs (see Brandner (in press), see below for further details). Younger speakers, however, also accept infinitives under propositional verbs but then the result looks often as in (80). As indicated, (80) is not fully accepted by the informants; but it was offered by various speakers as a translation of a Standard German infinitive (under a propositional verb). (81) is from a poem which is written in dialect – and as is well known – this literature makes quite often concessions to the standard variety, especially in the area of syntax.

So it seems as if the pattern in (82) is rather productive and by no means merely a 'mimic' of the purpose infinitive:

(82)  $N/V [zum ....zum/z'/\emptyset V]$ 

In order to understand this, it is necessary to take a closer look at the Alemannic infinitival syntax. As worked out in detail in Brandner (in press), Alemannic is much more explicit in its encoding of different infinitival constructions than Standard German. As is well known, infinitival constructions can be either bi-clausal (with a fully expanded CP-structure of the embedded clause) or mono-clausal (under so-called restructuring verbs) - the suggestions for the category of this infinitive range from (deficient) CP, over TP and up to VP. What is important here is that Alemannic has always a bare infinitive in case of a mono-clausal structure, just like under modal verbs where we have a bare infinitive in Standard German too, cf. (83):

- (83) Woasch no wo se agfange hon die Schtross uffrisse? know-you still where they started have the street up-tear
- (84) a. Er het mösse homgoh.

  he has must-INFhome-go
  - be has must-INFhome-go
    b. Er hat heimgehen müssen.

    he has home-go must-INF

    'He had to go home.'

But in Standard German, we find the infinitival marker *zu* under a verb like *anlagen*, compare (83) with (85):

(85) Weisst du noch als sie angefangen haben know-you you still where they started have [die Strasse auf<u>zu</u>reissen]?

the street up-tear

Both varieties allow so-called long scrambling out of the infinitival complement:

(86) Weisst du noch als sie [die Strasse], angefangen haben know-you you still where they the street started have [t; aufzureissen].

up-tear

I will assume without further discussion that this possibility is an indication for the monoclausal status of the construction (see Wurmbrand (2001)). This goes together with the fact that Alemannic uses a bare infinitive, i.e. the infinitival complement consists of a functionally unmarked vP with no (clause) boundary whatsoever. Since Standard German behaves syntactically alike, the infinitival marker in Standard German does obviously not head a functional (clausal) projection. From this we can conclude that the infinitival marker is not

visible to the computational system and is thus most adequately analyzed as an affix in the sense of a morphological 'inflection' (see also Abraham (2001)).

Younger speakers tend to tolerate (resp. use) the Standard German infinitival marker in this construction, i.e. uffz'risse would be a possible realization for these speakers. If it is true that this marker does not have any impact on the syntactic structure, we have a similar case as with the relative pronoun: namely the borrowing of a lexical item that can be integrated into the clausal system without altering the grammar or structure. In this case, the borrowing happens on a morphological level.

However, this still does not explain why we find doubling of the sort illustrated in (82).

In order to understand this, we will have to look at other infinitival constructions. Alemannic differs from Standard German in that it has a left peripheral infinitival complementizer whose form is *zum*. It occurs preferably under nouns that can take infinitival complements:

The form *zum* occurs also in Standard German but it can only introduce nominalized verbs:

If the noun has a verbal complement, the infinitive is a (simple) *zu*-marked infinitive, i.e. without an introducing particle:

(90) cannot be a mono-clausal structure since the infinitive is a binding domain of its own:

As Haider (2003) has argued in great detail, dative marked arguments cannot serve as the antecedent for the binding of an anaphor. Therefore, there must be a PRO subject in the infinitive. This implies that the infinitive is a fully expanded clause, i.e. of the category CP. The same facts hold for Alemannic. Recall that Alemannic has initial *zum* in this case. Assuming that *zum* heads the infinitival CP then we can see that Alemannic distinguishes overtly between infinitival complements that have CP-status and those that have vP status. In Standard German this distinction is blurred since in both cases, the infinitival complement has the same surface form. However, since long scrambling and binding is constrained in the same way in both languages, I will assume that we have two different types of *zu* in Standard German<sup>28</sup>: Whereas *zu* in (85), i.e. under a restructuring verb, is only an affix that has no impact on the syntactic structure, *zu* in (90) obviously occupies the head of a clausal projection, ensuring that the complement is interpreted as a CP.

Turning now to propositional verbs, it should first be noted that a finite clause is always the preferred option—instead of an infinitive:

Complements of propositional verbs never show mono-clausal behavior, i.e. they are unambiguously CPs. In order to explain the doubling of the infinitival marker as illustrated in (79) and (80), let us assume the following scenario.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> In Brandner (in press), I offer a diachronic scenario how this situation could have arisen.

The Standard German construction which uses an infinitive under propositional verbs<sup>29</sup> is imported into the grammar of Alemannic. However, Alemannic uses its own version of a CP-infinitival, namely that with left peripheral *zum*; the version that occurs genuinely only as the complement of a noun, cf. (87). In addition, the – syntactically meaningless – *zu* of the restructuring verbs can be inserted. And this gives rise to the doubling of the infinitival marking, repeated here for convenience:

The doubling is thus an effect of the combination of the genuine Alemannic construction (*zum* in left-peripheral position) and *zu*-marking from the standard variant. And as indicated in (92), it is only the lower marker that can be omitted.

In sum, these two cases where doubling indeed does lead to redundancy can be explained in terms of interference.

#### 5 © CONCLUSION

The overall conclusion of the examination of doubling phenomena shows clearly – in my view – that the seemingly 'redundant' external merge of lexical items as they are observed in many dialects provides no evidence against the 'economy of derivation' approach. Rather it seems as if dialects (which are always spoken languages in the sense that there is no standardized written norm) make much more use of strategies that either facilitate parsing ( $\partial o$ -insertion) or explicitly mark constructions e.g. via the spell-out of a functional head which can in principle be predicted by the syntactic environment (preposition doubling, doubly filled comp etc.). The two cases where there are indeed semantically vacuous elements were shown to be instances of interferences in the sense that lexical items are borrowed from the standard variety and that are integrated into the grammar such that they nevertheless do not alter the system as a whole.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Note that Standard German can freely change between a finite clause and an infinitive in this construction. The choice seems to be governed by stylistic factors, see Brandner (in Press).

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